Khattab, N., Miaari, S., Mohamed-Ali, M., & Abu-Rabia-Queder, S. (2019). Muslim women in the Canadian labor market: Between ethnic exclusion and religious discrimination. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *61*, 52-64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2018.11.006

Muslim women in the Canadian labor market: Between ethnic exclusion and religious discrimination

Abstract

This paper compares the labor market position of women from religious minority backgrounds with that of the majority group of Christian White Canadian women. In particular, it examines the relative disadvantage of Muslim women in relation to labor market participation, unemployment rate and the likelihood of obtaining managerial and professional occupations. The analysis was carried out using data obtained from the 2011 Canadian National Household Survey (NHS). The results suggested that, relative to White Christian women, most ethno-religious groups were significantly disadvantaged in the Canadian labor market, especially in relation to participation and unemployment. However, the pattern that was found in relation to occupational attainment was different and worth discussing. Not all Muslim women seemed to be disadvantaged in obtaining managerial and professional jobs. Black and Arab Muslim women, surprisingly enough, were as likely as the majority, Christian White women to be represented within the category of managers and professionals. This paper considers cultural explanations and the role of discrimination and a human capital deficit, as well as suggesting new directions by proposing the hypothesis of 'discouraged women', in explaining the low rate of participation, and a 'surplus education' hypothesis to explain occupational attainment. However, by and large, structural inequality, fostered by cultural racism and that based on color, remains the most plausible explanation.

Keywords: Canada, Muslim women, ethno-religious penalties, Islamophobia, labor market

1. Introduction

Given that the Canadian government has officially recognized diversity as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and has committed itself to a policy of multiculturalism (Helly 2004), and considering that in modern societies individuals should be assessed on the basis of their ability and talent, as opposed to criteria of ascription, gender, ethnic/racial and religious identities should no longer be relevant to, or have any bearing on, their integration into the economy. However, numerous studies in Canada, (and elsewhere), have demonstrated that this is not the case, not even remotely. For example, it is well known in the literature that immigrants and minorities are disadvantaged in the labor market (Reitz et al. 2009, Reitz 2007), and women are doubly disadvantaged due to both gender and racial/ethnic discrimination (Healy, Bradley and Forson 2011). However, when it comes to the position of Muslim women in the Canadian labor market, there is a genuine dearth of studies. We know very little about their participation patterns and position, and certainly do not know whether and/or how their religious background affects their labor market experience. For example, are they less or more likely to become economically active? To what extent are they likely to face unemployment compared to Canadian women in the "majority" group? How much lower is their 'glass ceiling' in terms of occupational attainment?

This paper aims to address this gap in the literature and to contribute to the current volume by comprehensively comparing the labor market position of Muslim women and the majority group of Christian White Canadian women. It will assess the relative advantage or disadvantage of Muslim women with regard to their labor market participation rate, their unemployment rate and likelihood of obtaining managerial and professional occupations. The analysis will be conducted using data obtained from Canada's 2011 National Household Survey, (NHS), covering five self-defined ethnic/racial groups (White, Arab, Black, South Asian and West Asian) belonging to five self-defined faith groups: Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and those stating no religion. Focusing on the ethnic and racial differences among Muslim women will help disentangle the effect of religious background from the effect of ethnicity, especially in the case of White women. However, examining religious differences is crucial to assessing whether the disadvantages facing Muslim women in the Canadian labor market are distinctive. The paper will first examine the differences between the groups for each of the labor market outcomes examined, (economic activity, unemployment and obtaining managerial and professional jobs). In the second stage of the analysis, the paper will examine whether these differences can be explained by controlling for human capital and other socio-

economic factors, (e.g. education and language proficiency), migration background, (generation status), the stage in the life cycle, (e.g. age and marital status), ethnic/racial and religious backgrounds.

The available studies on Muslim women in Canada have focused almost exclusively on issues relating to the wearing of the *Hijab* or headscarf (Bullock and Jafri 2000, Shirazi 2001), the ways in which Muslim women are represented in the media (Dobrowolsky 2008), identity and how Muslim women perceive religion (Hamdan 2007, Khan 1998, Khan 2000), but not the labor market. However, a study by Hamdan (2007) posits that the vast majority of Muslims are members of visible minority[i] groups and that, whereas one in three visible minority Muslim women reported discriminatory experiences, the corresponding figure for their non-Muslim counterparts was only one in five. Moreover, while non-visible minority Muslims were found to be less vulnerable than their visible minority counterparts, they were twice as likely as their non-Muslim counterparts to experience discrimination. This suggests that issues of racism or discrimination based on culture or physical appearance are likely to play a significant role in shaping the life chances of Muslim women in Canada. The impact of being part of a visible minority, (due to physical appearance and skin color), is likely to be greater in the case of Muslims.

2. Theoretical perspectives

The literature identifies/ focuses on three possible explanations for the labor market participation patterns and outcomes among Muslim women in the Western world: cultural and religious preferences, ethnic/racial and religious discrimination and a human capital deficit. In what follows we will discuss each one of these separately.

Cultural explanations

A large number of studies on labor market participation of Muslim women in various regions and countries in the world found that the participation rate among these women is notoriously low, especially when compared to other religious groups (Ali et al. 2017, Khattab and Hussein 2017, Moghadam 2003, Read 2003, Spierings 2016). Many of these studies have attributed the low participation rate to religious and cultural reasons, arguing that Islam, including the different interpretation of it within particular local contexts, places women within the private sphere, perceiving them as wives and mothers whose activity should be restricted to domestic roles (e.g. see Dagkas and Benn 2006, Spierings 2014, Talbani 1996, Taraki 1995).

For example, in his recent study on the employment of Muslim women in Muslim countries, Spierings (2016) found that in many cases, Sharia law was associated with lower employment rates (p. 190). In another study on American-Arab women, Read (2004: 52) has argued that the labor force participation (or lack of it) among Arab-American women can be attributed to 'traditional cultural norms that prioritise women's family obligations over their economic activity, and to ethnic and religious social networks that encourage the maintenance of traditional gender roles'. Similarly, in studying labor market behaviour amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK, Dale et al. (2002) have found that many older women who do not work, think that women should not be working outside the home and that this practice is in line with the Islamic faith.

A number of recent studies, examining the effect of religiosity in the US and the UK, have concluded that, not only is there no negative impact of religiosity among Muslim women on their labor market participation rate, but in some cases this impact is actually positive (Abdelhadi 2017, Khattab, Johnston and Manley 2017). Moreover, the cultural explanation has been thoroughly scrutinised in a very recent study by Kraus and Yonay (2018), and was utterly refuted (see also Khattab 2002). It appears then, that to explain labor market participation patterns and outcomes among Muslim women, we should look elsewhere.

Racial and religious discrimination

The vast majority of Muslim women in Canada belong to ethnic and racial groups other than the majority white Canadian group (Hamdan 2007), implying that they face two layers of visibility in addition to their gender: racial-biological, (skin color), and cultural. These two layers are extremely important in shaping their life experience and their labor market participation as these identities often constitute the grounds on which color-based and cultural racism occur (Modood 2005). Cultural racism is a type of racism that is rooted in hostility and stereotypes of an ostensibly inferior or primitive culture, making use of cultural differences to exclude groups, or, alternatively, to demand their cultural assimilation. According to Modood (2005), cultural racism is the most common penalty faced by Muslims who compete in Western labor markets. Color-based racism is racially-based harassment, that is expressed through threats and violence targeted at particular ethnic groups on the grounds of ethnic and racial differences (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Macey and Carling 2010, Reitz and Banerjee 2007).

In Canada, especially in the current context of growing Islamophobia (Helly 2004, Helly 2011, Reitz, Simon and Laxer 2017), color-based racism or racial discrimination against non-white groups (Dobrowolsky 2008, Galabuzi 2006, Man 2004, Reitz 2007) would inevitably exacerbate the disadvantage faced by Muslim women. Many Muslim women are also culturally visible, especially in those cases where they adhere to what they consider as Islamic or *Sharia* laws regarding clothing, language (?) and other social practices. Similarly to black women in the US and the UK (Brah and Phoenix 2013, Hooks 1981), non-white Muslim women in Canada are likely to face the cumulative penalty of the intersection(s) of gender, ethnicity and religion. It is likely that their dark color, or visibility on the one hand, and their cultural visibility, (as Muslims), on the other hand, would interact creating a double source of disadvantage which reinforces or intensifies further their initial gender inequality (Brah and Phoenix 2013, Crenshaw 1991, Hooks 1981). Therefore, we would expect the penalty facing non-white women in the Canadian labor market to be particularly large for Muslim women.

Human capital

Moving to a new country is associated with a number of difficulties and barriers that are extremely relevant to an understanding of the initial labor market position of migrants. The most important of these difficulties are the lack of language skills the lack of knowledge about and of familiarity with the system of the new, host country, as well as the devaluation of migrants' foreign qualifications by employers (for example see Borjas 1994, Chiswick 1978, Chiswick 1999, Chiswick and Miller 2002, Reitz 2001). The length of stay in host countries is likely to be positively associated with an improvement in migrants' labor market standing and achievement, as a result of improved language skills, greater knowledge of the host country and its culture and the acquisition of new skills that are relevant to the local labor market (Beckhusen et al. 2013, Dustmann and Fabbri 2003, Lutz 2007). In the classical work of Chiswick (1978) on the earnings of foreign-born men in the US, he argues that the economic opportunities of migrants will improve rapidly over time and the initial gaps between them and the host population will be closed as migrants adapt their skills to those required by the host society.

This implies that labor market penalties are likely to vanish or at least to shrink over time, especially for the second generation and beyond, in line with the accumulation of human capital and relevant skills. It is possible that obtaining language skills and improving human capital that is specific and relevant to the host society can only help close the labor market gaps

between migrants and the majority population if the former do not face discrimination on the grounds of their physical appearance or culture. If migrants are being racialized by the majority group and are seen as 'others', their human capital can be devalued and this can subsequently contribute to their marginalisation within the labor market, as in the case of Chinese women who migrated to Canada (Man 2004). Under these circumstances, the initial disadvantages of some ethnic groups might turn into long term penalties that cannot be bridged during their working lives (Borjas 1994) and in the case of Muslims in some Western societies, these penalties are being transmitted to the second generation (Connor and Koenig 2015).

3. Immigrants' Ethnicity and Religion in Canada

The impact of immigration on social cohesion has been a national concern for much of Canada's history. Prior to the Second World War, concerns revolved around immigrants' economic attainment and geographical distribution. During the war, those concerns were largely replaced with questions about the ideological leanings and political loyalties of new immigrants. Beginning in the 1970s, the focus of concern shifted in a different direction and the racial and ethnic identities of new immigrants came to the forefront of the national discussion around integration (Breton 2012). More recently, however, such concerns took the form of a preoccupation with the implications of religious diversity among immigrants for integration and social cohesion (Soroka, Johnston and Banting 2007). However, for both political and empirical considerations, race and ethnicity, as opposed to religion, have been the primary focus of sociological and economic research on issues of social and structural integration of minorities (Reitz et al. 2009). Politically, following the first large-scale waves of immigration from non-European countries, issues of race-based discrimination in the labor market were regarded as serious enough to constitute barriers to integration and settlement and to warrant a political response from the government. Religious discrimination, on the other hand, lacked that saliency and therefore was not part of the overall discussion of discrimination against, (and integration of), immigrants during this period. This was evident in the Employment Equity Act and other government legislations aimed at addressing discriminatory employment practices against "visible minorities" (Pendakur 2005).

The potential effects of religious affiliation on structural integration were partially concealed by the observation that, regardless of religious affiliation, members of ethnic minority groups tended to fare less well on measures of economic success than those of the

majority group. For example, within the dominant religious group, Christian members of visible minority groups were consistently found to be disadvantaged relative to both White Christians and White Jews. Furthermore, such differences are accentuated in the case of Blacks, who are predominantly Christians and yet tend to experience the greatest disadvantage and report incidences of discriminatory employment practices more often than any other visible minority group including those with non-Christian populations (Frenette and Morissette 2005).

Although the potential impact of religious affiliation or religious discrimination on employment outcomes has been largely neglected, there have been a few exceptions in the Canadian context. Perhaps the first one was a study by Tomes (1983), using the 1971 Canadian Census to investigate returns to education among Jews and Christian groups. Thereafter, other researchers became interested and a few studies treating religious affiliation as a variable were published (Meng and Sentance 1984).

On the whole, the scant literature on this topic focused exclusively on Judeo-Christian faiths and the first exception in the Canadian context was probably a study by Model and Lin (2002) in which they used data from British national surveys and the Canadian census to compare labor market outcomes for religious minorities relative to the Christian majority in both countries. They found no cross-national disparities in the effects on occupational distribution and earnings. With regard to economic activity and unemployment, they found that, compared to British Muslims, Canadian Muslims fared better in employment and less well in labor market participation, while Canadian Sikhs and Hindus had worse employment outcomes than their British counterparts. In their conclusion they reiterated Reitz's (1999) contention that Canada's reputation as the more generous and attractive destination has been blown out of proportion (Model and Lin 2002).

The above discussion implies that differences in labor market outcomes are to be expected between the various ethno-religious groups. These differences are likely to be shaped largely by physical visibility and cultural proximity to the dominant group. Non-white groups in general are expected to face a penalty, which is likely to be exacerbated even further in the case of Muslim women. In the next section we discuss our data and the methods used to analyze the data.

4. Data & Methods

Data were drawn from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) which is a voluntary, self-administered survey, introduced as a replacement for census Form 2B, and which is more commonly known as the long-form census questionnaire. A random sample of 4.5 million households, about one-third of all households, was invited to respond to the NHS in the spring and summer of 2011. This survey contains 887,012 records drawn from the population who anonymously responded to the 2011 NHS, representing 2.7% of the Canadian population. Given that the aim of this study was to investigate labor market outcomes, the analysis had to be restricted to working-age women (18-64 years), thus excluding students and retirees, which reduced the sample to 192,652 records.

Dependent variables: Structural integration variables

Labor market status

Three key aspects of labor market status are analyzed:

Labor force participation (economic activity): A dichotomous variable with a value of 1 for those who are economically active, (those either searching for a job or who have a paid job), and a value of 0 for those who are economically inactive, (all others, including people with disabilities, housewives, students, retirees).

Unemployment*:* This variable constitutes a subset of the labor force participation variable. It includes only those who are economically active and participating in the labor market, (i.e. those with score 1 on the previous variable). It distinguishes those who are currently employed (0) from those unemployed but searching for a job (1)

Occupational attainment:

This variable was derived from one of the survey's questions regarding the kind of work performed by the respondent. It contained 10 occupational categories based on the National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S). For the purpose of our study, these classifications were vertically recoded into the following three categories: Occupations in management, business, finance, and administration were grouped together. Occupations related to natural and applied sciences, social sciences, education, government services, religion, and health were recoded as intermediate level occupations. All other occupations were combined into skilled & unskilled manual occupations and this was used as the reference category.

Independent variables

Before we discuss our independent variables and how these were derived and coded, we would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that a summary of statistics for all independent variables can be found in Appendix 1.

Ethno-religious grouping

This variable is intended to reflect the respondent's religious affiliation and ethnic or visible minority background. The information on both backgrounds was obtained from the corresponding questions in the NHS's questionnaire on religion and ethnic origins. The survey's question on ethnic origin was "*What were the ethnic or cultural origins of this person's ancestors?*" whereas the question on the religious background was "*What is this person's religion?*". In the context of this study, religious affiliations mark differences in religious backgrounds, but not religiosity which indicates the strength of faith or the degree of commitment to one's religious beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the ethnic categories arenot mutually exclusive. Some respondents might belong to two categories at the same time, for example being a black and an Arab at the same time (Many Sudanese fall into this category), or Arabs with white/light skin. In the survey, all respondents were given a list of ethnic and faith categories and were asked to tick the one that they felt they belonged to. Considering that one of the objectives of this study is to tease out the effects of visibility from those of religious affiliation, people with mixed backgrounds were excluded from the study. The following ethno-religious groups were derived using the survey's visible minority and religion variables: Christian White (CW) (reference), Muslim White (MW), Other Christians, Muslim South Asian (MSA), Muslim Black (MB), Hindu South Asian (HSA), Muslim Arab (MA), Sikh South Asian (SSA), Muslim West Asian (MWA), and No Religious Affiliation White (NRAW).

Age

Recoded and grouped into the following age categories with the first one being the reference category: (18–29), (30–39), (40–49), (50-59), and (60-64).

Marital status

This variable was recoded into singles (0), currently married or in a common law relationship (1), and divorced, separated or widowed (2), with singles being the baseline.

Number and age of children

This includes the following variables: Children aged 0-1, children aged 2-5, children aged 6-14, children aged 15-24, and those aged 25 and over. Each one of these variables

contained the same two categories; no children (0), and one child or more (1), with the former being the reference group.

Generational status

A series of dummies have been used as follows: 1. first generation, respondents born outside Canada, 2. second generation, respondents born in Canada, both parents born outside Canada, 3. second generation, respondents born in Canada, one parent born outside Canada, 4. and third generation or more, respondents born in Canada, both parents born in Canada. First generation was used as the reference group.

Educational qualification

A series of dummies have been defined as follows: 1. no educational qualification which was the reference group, 2. certificate, diploma or degree below college level, 3. certificate, diploma or degree below bachelor level, 4. bachelor's degree, certificate or diploma above bachelor's degree or a degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary science or optometry, and 5. master's or earned doctorate degree (4).

Language proficiency

Dummies relate to the ability to conduct a conversation in 1. English only, 2. in French only, 3. in none of the official languages of Canada, or 4. in both English and French, which was used as the reference group

Region of Residence

Recoded into Toronto (0), Montreal (1), Vancouver (2), the rest of the country (3) with the last of these being the reference group

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive Statistics

In this section we present a brief statistical description of the dependent variables by ethno-religious groups. We start the section by examining labor force participation, or economic activity, which is presented in figure 1. The main difference here is between Muslim women on the one hand, (Black, Arab, South Asian, West Asian and White Muslim women), whose participation rate lags behind that of the other groups of women, especially that of the majority White Christian women. The participation rate for Muslim women ranges from 53.3 percent, for West Asian Muslims, to 63.8 percent, for White Muslims. All of the other

categories of women have a participation rate greater than 71 percent, with the highest rates being found among White women with No Religious Affiliation (81.6 percent) and the majority group of White Christians (79.5 percent). With a participation rate of 71.5, 73.5 and 77.7 percent respectively, South Asian Hindu women, South Asian Sikh women and other Christian women respectively, fall, more or less, in the middle between the Muslims groups and the majority White group. Many reasons may account for these differences including socio-demographic factors, (marital status and number of dependent children), human capital and social-cultural factors. In the multivariate analysis, we will be able to shed more light on this issue.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 reveals a similar pattern in relation to unemployment. With an unemployment rate that exceeds 16 percent, Muslim women, (with the exception of White Muslims), seem to face the highest level of unemployment, especially Arab and Black Muslim women, (20.0 percent and 21.5 percent respectively). Non-white Christian women, South Asian Hindu women, South Asian Sikh women and White Muslim women experience an unemployment rate that is above 8 percent, placing them in the middle, between the former groups and the majority White Christian women (4.8 percent) and unaffiliated women (5.9%).

Figure 2 about here

The pattern in relation to occupational attainment is slightly different from those discussed earlier in relation to unemployment and economic activity. Most Muslim women (Arab, Black, West Asian and White Muslim women) are less likely to be working in managerial and professional occupations, and are more likely to be in manual jobs than most of the other groups, especially White Christian and other Christian women (Figure 3). South Asian Sikh women are closer on the scale to Muslim women, while Muslim South Asian, Hindu South Asian and Unaffiliated women fall closer to the more privileged groups. Most white women, (of all religious backgrounds except Muslim), and all Christian women can be described as more advantaged in relation to their occupational attainment. As suggested earlier, these ethnic/racial and religious differences might be a result of differences in their life circumstances, (socio-demographics), and their human capital and skills. These differences, if not totally explained by socio-demographic and human capital factors, could potentially be caused by discrimination on the grounds of skin color and religious affiliation, and the intersection (combination) of these identities. In the following section we will examine these

differences further and see whether controlling for the independent variables discussed earlier can explain these differences.

Figure 3 about here

5.2. Multivariate analysis

5.2.1. Economic activity

Table 1 presents two logit models depicting our results in relation to economic activity. Model 1 highlights the gross variations among the ethno-religious groups. While some unaffiliated women were more likely to be economically active than White Christian women, all other women were significantly less likely to be economically active than White Christian women, with Muslim women being the least likely to be active. With an odds ratio of $e^{-1.23}$=0.29, Muslim West Asian women were the group with the lowest odds of economic activity. All ethno-religious backgrounds were statistically significant compared to Christian white women.

Model 2 presents ethno-religious differences while controlling for demographic background, geographical location, human capital, and the other independent variables. Here, the odds ratios for most ethno-religious groups remained statistically significant, suggesting that the gap in labor market participation rates between the majority group and minorities is robust to controlling for the independent variables. Odds ratios for most Muslim women decrease when compared to Model 1, while the difference between Christian White women and the groups of Other Christian women, unaffiliated women and Sikh South Asian women become statistically insignificant. The results from this model suggest that controlling for demographic characteristics and human capital leads to an increase in the, (already existing), gap in labor force participation rates between Muslim and White Christian Women. Muslim Arab women face the lowest odds of being economically active with an odds ratio of 0.29. The other important pattern that emerges from this model is that within any ethnicity/race,(e.g. South Asian, Arabs etc.), Muslim women have lower odds of economic activity. Thus, we can conclude that there are significant differences between the groups, which have increased further when controlling for socio-economic background variables.

Table 1 about here

To address the important role of human capital as a factor in explaining the differences in economic activity, we present the predicted probability of participating in the labor force by

ethno-religious and educational level (Figure 1A). The results suggest that probability rises with higher levels of education across all ethno-religious groups. However, at each level of education, Muslim women experience the lowest probability of economic activity. The fact that the confidence intervals do not overlap when we compare Muslim women to other groups indicates that there are significant statistical differences between Muslim and Christian Whites, (and other groups), in the probability of being economically active across all educational levels. Adding the interaction term between education and ethno-religious background as a further control, suggests that education has the same effect on the probability of being in the labor force for most ethno- religious groups (Table 1A in the appendices). In all other cases in which education has a significant differential effect, this was in favor of the majority group. For example, Other Christian, Muslim South-Asian, Hindu South-Asian and Sikh South-Asian women with postgraduate degrees received significantly lower protective values of their education relative to White Christians. These results confirm that differences in human capital do not explain the ethno-religious differences in labor force participation.

The other independent variables in Model 2 seem to operate in the expected direction. Age increases the odds of being economically inactive. Compared to our references age group (18-29 years), the three oldest groups were significantly less likely to be economically active, with the age group (30-39 years) being the only exception. Both married and divorced women were more likely to be economically active than single women, (those who had never married / women who selected the single category). As expected, the age of children seems to affect a woman's ability to participate in the labor market. Relative to those with no children, mothers of dependent children under the age of 15 and over the age of 24 were less likely to be economically active, while those whose children were aged between 15-24 were more likely to be active. There were significant differences in labor force participation rates between first generation and second or third generation Canadian women, with those in the latter two categories being more likely to be economically active. Education significantly increased the odds of being economically active; the higher the educational qualification, the higher the odds of being economically active. Compared to bilingual women, who speak both English and French, women who spoke neither of the two official languages were considerably less likely to be economically active, while those who spoke only one of the two were only slightly less likely to be economically active. Living in Toronto and living in Montreal slightly increased the odds of economic activity, while living in Vancouver did not seem to have any significant effect.

5.2.2. Unemployment

This study now turns to women who are active in the labor force, employed or searching for employment, to compare the odds of unemployment for all groups, and to investigate whether differences in socio-demographic and human capital backgrounds can explain any variations that may exist in the odds of unemployment.

As in the previous analysis, here we also present two models (in Table 2). Model 1 shows the gross ethno-religious differences. Compared to White Christian women, all other women are significantly more likely to be unemployed, with Muslim women of all ethnicities, except White, being the most likely. These differences are considerably higher for Black Muslims and Arab Muslims with odds ratios of 5.47 and 5.00 respectively.

Model 2 examines whether the initial differences are explained by the independent variables. The results show that initial differences decreased for all ethno religious groups, but remained statistically significant. All women in these groups are significantly more likely to be unemployed than White Christian women. While the odds ratio of Black Muslim women has decreased from 5.47 to 3.56, for Arab Muslim women it has only decreased from 5.00 to 4.35 making Arab Muslim women the group with the highest penalty. The Muslim group is, (with the exception of White Muslim women), the most likely to be disadvantaged among religious groups.

Table 2 about here

Figure 2A, presents the predicted probability of unemployment by ethno-religious and educational level. The results suggest that while the probability of unemployment falls with higher education across all groups, there are some significant differences between the ethno-religious groups. Muslim women have the highest probability of being unemployed relative to other groups, mainly Christian White, across all levels of education. The confidence intervals do not overlap when we compare Muslim women to other groups, indicating significant statistical differences between Muslim and Christian White women. However, adding the interaction term between education and ethno-religious background, as a further control, did not alter the trend confirming that education has a similar impact on most ethno-religious groups. The results suggest that differences in human capital do not fully explain the higher unemployment rates among minorities (Table 1A in the appendices).

As for the rest of the independent variables, the overall impact is similar to the impact captured by our models of economic activity. Age in general decreases the odds of being

unemployed. As age increased, the relevant odds of unemployment continued to decrease until one reached the age of (60-64). Married and divorced women were more likely, than single women, to be economically active and also less likely to be unemployed. The age of children seems to affect one's odds of employment, and as the children grow older, the odds significantly improve. Relative to those with no children, mothers of children under the age of 6 were more likely to be unemployed, while those with children between the ages of 6 and14 and aged 25 or over did not experience a statistically significant effect. Mothers of children aged between 15 and24 were less likely to be unemployed. Second and third generation Canadian women were less likely to be unemployed than first generation women. Education impacts the odds of unemployment in the opposite direction to that in which it affects the odds of economic activity; the higher the educational qualification, the lower the odds of being unemployed, with a small advantage to holders of bachelor degrees over postgraduate degrees. Compared to bilingual women, who speak both English and French, women who spoke neither of the two official languages, along with those who spoke only English or only French, were significantly more likely to be unemployed, with the first having the highest odds-ratio (1.99, 1.23 and 1.10 respectively). Women living in Vancouver had odds of unemployment significantly lower than those in the rest of the county, while those living in Toronto had significantly higher odds of unemployment.

5.2.3. Occupational attainment

Model 1 in Table 3 compares White Christian women to every other group with regard to whether they are more or less likely to hold a managerial or (intermediary) intermediate level job as opposed to a manual one. In model 2 we undertake the same comparison but this time with socio-demographic factors and human capital taken into account. In Model 1, all non-Christian women (except for Muslim Arab women) are significantly less likely than White Christian women to hold managerial jobs as opposed to manual ones. The two groups of women least likely to hold managerial jobs are Sikh South Asian and Muslim Black women. Regarding intermediate level jobs, Muslim White, Muslim Black and West Asian women become as likely as White Christian women to hold these jobs, while other non-Christians remain less likely and the least likely are southern Asian Hindu and Sikh women. Other Christian and Muslim Arab women are more likely than White Christian women to hold intermediate level jobs.

Controlling for the other independent variables (in Model 2), in general, does not alter the ethno-religious differences that have been found in Model 1, at least not in the direction of these differences, suggesting that the initial gaps in occupational attainment between the majority White Christian women and the other ethno-religious groups cannot be attributed to differences in the socio-demographic and human capital background. The only exceptions are Muslim Arab and Muslim Black women who, when controlling for other variables, are just as likely as White Christian women to hold managerial or intermediate level jobs.

Table 3 about here

The evidence in Figure 3A shows that there are no statistically significant differences in the probability of being in any occupation for all ethno-religious groups across educational levels given that the confidence intervals do not overlap. However, adding the interaction term between education and ethno-religious background as a further control, suggests that education has the same effect on the probability of being in any occupation. Education has a significant differential effect in favor of the Other Christians with below Bachelor's, Bachelor's and postgraduate degrees in managerial jobs, and an unfavorable significant differential effect on unaffiliated women of all qualifications in managerial job. In all other cases, this worked in favor of the majority group (Table 1A in the appendices).

It seems that the disadvantages, (penalties), that these women face in relation to occupational attainment are not as severe as the other two labor market outcomes. However, penalties still exist and are determined by two components or factors: visibility and the religious background of the group. In the next section we will discuss these findings further.

6. Discussion and conclusions

This paper compares the labor market position of women from religious minority backgrounds and the majority group of Christian White Canadian women. In particular, it examines the relative disadvantage faced by Muslim women in terms of the extent to which they participate in the labor market, their rate of unemployment their chances of obtaining managerial and professional occupations. The results suggest that, relative to White Christian women, most ethno-religious groups are significantly disadvantaged in the Canadian labor market. This is not unexpected given findings from previous studies on the structural integration of ethnic and religious minorities (Galabuzi 2006, Helly 2004, Model and Lin 2002, Reitz et al. 2009). The main and novel contribution of this study, however, comes from the evidence it provides for the existence of a hierarchy of labor market outcomes predicated on both visibility and religious affiliation. In other words, the results suggest that the existing,

uneven pattern of unemployment and, to a lesser extent, occupational attainment among the various ethno-religious groups, including Muslims, is shaped largely by physical visibility and cultural proximity to the dominant group. This finding confirms those of previous studies on color-based racism or racial discrimination against non-white groups in Canada (Dobrowolsky 2008, Galabuzi 2006, Man 2004, Reitz 2007). It also reveals that Muslims are likely to be facing an additional penalty due to their Muslim background, at least in the case of unemployment, which is likely to be associated with the increase of Islamophobia (Helly 2004, Helly 2011, Reitz, Simon and Laxer 2017), and the racialization of Muslims in Canadian society (Hanniman 2008).

Substantial differences were also found in relation to labor market participation. The results show that Muslim women were less likely than any other religious group to be participating in the labor market. One possible explanation for this, as argued by previous studies, is religious and cultural preferences and choices (e.g. see Dagkas and Benn 2006, Read 2004, Spierings 2014, Spierings 2016, Talbani 1996). While this is a plausible explanation, a number of studies, including very recent ones, have questioned and eventually dismissed it (Abdelhadi 2017, Abdelhadi and England 2018, Khattab, Johnston and Manley 2017, Yonay and Kraus 2018). We would argue that the high rate of economic inactivity among Muslim women in Canada should be explained in terms of the relationship between economic inactivity and the very high unemployment rate experienced by this group. A number of studies examining the relationship between high and persistent unemployment and labor market participation rates have suggested that people who face a higher risk of, and repeated spells of unemployment, are more likely to become discouraged and to decide to leave the labor market (Ayllón 2013, Blundell, Ham and Meghir 1998). It is also possible that Muslim women in Canada are discouraged from participation in the labor market, because of the nature of the experience when (first) seeking, and failing to find a job, or because they watched other fellow women, trying to find jobs, but with no success. It is further possible that the climate of hostility against Muslims, since 9/11, discourages Muslim women, especially those wearing the hijab, from public engagement due to the fear of harassment (Perry 2014). The data we used here do not allow us to study the issue of discouragement directly, but it is a plausible explanation and future studies should aim at examining the discouragement hypothesis.

It is interesting, though, to point out that the pattern found in relation to the occupational attainment of Muslim women was different and worth discussing. Not all Muslim women, at least as far as the statistical model is concerned, seem to be disadvantaged when it comes to

obtaining managerial and professional jobs. Two Muslim groups, surprisingly, Muslim Black and Arab women are as likely as the majority Christian White women to be represented within the category of managers and professionals. Furthermore, the group that faces the greatest disadvantage is South Asian Sikhs, with South Asian Hindus incurring a disadvantage that is greater than that experienced by their Muslim counterparts. One way to interpret these findings is that they refutes the Muslim discrimination hypothesis. However, the very high unemployment and labor market participation disadvantages pose a serious challenge to such an interpretation. Why do Muslim, and other visible minority women, face substantial penalties in unemployment and participation, but not in obtaining the best jobs? Another explanation is that Muslim and other visible minority women do not simply accept any job, hence their high unemployment, and keep searching longer until the right job is found, some get discouraged while waiting, which contributes to the high rate of inactivity. Furthermore, it is possible that they may attach a greater value to work in the private sphere, than other groups, and that, as such, the opportunity cost of taking less good jobs is too great to make this worth doing.

Those who manage to find jobs seem to be faring as well as the majority group in getting into managerial and professional jobs. This implies that a selection effect may be at play here; we only look at groups who participate in the labor market and are employed, depicting two strong filters, especially for minority groups. Those who manage to survive these two important filters, tend to fair relatively well.

An equally plausible explanation, is the above-average level of qualifications among Muslim and other visible minority groups. Compared to the majority group, most Muslim groups have a higher proportion of members with higher levels of qualifications, leading them to target jobs falling within the managerial and professional category, to a greater extent than the majority group. Issues of over-qualification might be hidden here, so future studies should consider this further.

Although controlling for human capital and other socio-demographic factors has not explained the initial gap between the groups, there is no doubt that the results of this study provide clear evidence for the human capital hyphothesis. Language proficiency, length of stay, (measured via generation status), and qualifications have significantly affected the three labor market outcomes, which is in line with many other studies in this regard (Beckhusen et al. 2013, Dustmann and Fabbri 2003, Lutz 2007). However, the current analysis does not allow us to estimate the extent of disadvantage over time, so we don't know whether the disadvantages

found in the study are decreasing or persisting. The latter scenario, (persistence of disadvantages over time), is likely to be the case given that Islamophobia is increasing in Canadian society, and thus, as in other Western societies, these penalties are more likely to be transmitted (to the second generation) from one generation to the next.

Bibliography

Abdelhadi, Eman. 2017. "Religiosity and Muslim Women's Employment in the United States." *Socius* 3:2378023117729969.

Abdelhadi, Eman and Paula England. 2018. "Do Values Explain the Low Employment Levels of Muslim Women around the World? A within-and between-Country Analysis." *The British Journal of Sociology*.

Ali, Faiza, Ashish Malik, Vijay Pereira and Akram Al Ariss. 2017. "A Relational Understanding of Work-Life Balance of Muslim Migrant Women in the West: Future Research Agenda." *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 28(8):1163-81.

Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1992. *Racialized Boundaries : Racism Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti Racist Struggle*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ayllón, Sara. 2013. "Unemployment Persistence: Not Only Stigma but Discouragement Too." *Applied Economics Letters* 20(1):67-71.

Beckhusen, Julia, Raymond JGM Florax, Thomas Graaff, Jacques Poot and Brigitte Waldorf. 2013. "Living and Working in Ethnic Enclaves: English Language Proficiency of Immigrants in Us Metropolitan Areas." *Papers in Regional Science* 92(2):305-28.

Blundell, Richard, John Ham and Costas Meghir. 1998. "Unemployment, Discouraged Workers and Female Labour Supply." *Research in Economics* 52(2):103-31.

Borjas, George J. 1994. "The Economics of Immigration." *Journal of economic literature*:1667-717.

Brah, Avtar and Ann Phoenix. 2013. "Ain't Ia Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5(3):75-86.

Breton, Raymond. 2012. *Different Gods: Integrating Non-Christian Minorities into a Primarily Christian Society*: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Bullock, Katherine H and Gul J Jafri. 2000. "Media (Mis) Representations: Muslim Women in the Canadian Nation." *Canadian Woman Studies* 20(2):35-40.

Chiswick, Barry R. 1978. "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-Born Men." *The Journal of Political Economy*:897-921.

Chiswick, Barry R. 1999. "Are Immigrants Favorably Self-Selected?". *American Economic Review*:181-85.

Chiswick, Barry R and Paul W Miller. 2002. "Immigrant Earnings: Language Skills, Linguistic Concentrations and the Business Cycle." *Journal of Population Economics* 15(1):31-57.

Connor, Phillip and Matthias Koenig. 2015. "Explaining the Muslim Employment Gap in Western Europe: Individual-Level Effects and Ethno-Religious Penalties." *Social science research* 49:191-201.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford law review*:1241-99.

Dagkas, Symeon and Tansin Benn. 2006. "Young Muslim Women's Experiences of Islam and Physical Education in Greece and Britain: A Comparative Study." *Sport, Education and Society* 11(1):21-38.

Dale, Angela, Edward Fieldhouse, Nusrat Shaheen and Virinder Kalra. 2002. "The Labour Market Prospects for Pakistani and Bangladeshi Women." *Work Employment & Society* 16(1):5-25.

Dobrowolsky, Alexandra. 2008. "Interrogating 'Invisibilization'and 'Instrumentalization': Women and Current Citizenship Trends in Canada." *Citizenship studies* 12(5):465-79.

Dustmann, Christian and Francesca Fabbri. 2003. "Language Proficiency and Labour Market Performance of Immigrants in the Uk." *The Economic Journal* 113(489):695-717.

Frenette, Marc and René Morissette. 2005. "Will They Ever Converge? Earnings of Immigrant and Canadian-Born Workers over the Last Two Decades." *International Migration Review* 39(1):228-57.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward. 2006. *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century*: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Hamdan, Amani. 2007. "Arab Muslim Women in Canada: The Untold Narratives." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 27(1):133-54.
Hanniman, Wayne. 2008. "Canadian Muslims, Islamophobia and National Security." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 36(4):271-85.
Healy, Geraldine, Harriet Bradley and Cynthia Forson. 2011. "Intersectional Sensibilities in Analysing Inequality Regimes in Public Sector Organizations." *Gender, Work & Organization* 18(5):467-87.
Helly, Denise. 2004. "Are Muslims Discriminated against in Canada since September 2001?". *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 36(1):24-47.
Helly, Denise. 2011. "Islam and Justice in Canada." Pp. 164-86 in *Diversity, Crime, and Justice in Canada*, edited by B. J. Perry: Oxford University Press.
Hooks, Bell. 1981. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, Vol. 3: South End Press Boston.
Khan, Shahnaz. 1998. "Muslim Women: Negotiations in the Third Space." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 23(2):463-94.
Khan, Shahnaz. 2000. *Muslim Women: Crafting a North American Identity*, Vol. 2: University Press of Florida Gainesville.
Khattab, Nabil. 2002. "Ethnicity and Female Labour Market Participation: A New Look at the Palestinian Enclave in Israel." *Work Employment & Society* 16(1):91-110.
Khattab, Nabil and Shereen Hussein. 2017. "Can Religious Affiliation Explain the Disadvantage of Muslim Women in the British Labour Market?". *Work, employment and society*:0950017017711099.
Khattab, Nabil, Ron Johnston and David Manley. 2017. "Human Capital, Family Structure and Religiosity Shaping British Muslim Women's Labour Market Participation." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*:1-19.
Kraus, Vered and Yuval Yonay. 2018. *Facing Barriers: Palestinian Women in a Jewish-Dominated Labor Market*: Cambridge University Press.
Lutz, Amy. 2007. "Barriers to High-School Completion among Immigrant and Later-Generation Latinos in the USA: Language, Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status." *Ethnicities* 7(3):323-42.
Macey, Marie and Alan H Carling. 2010. *Ethnic, Racial and Religious Inequalities: The Perils of Subjectivity*: Palgrave Macmillan.
Man, Guida. 2004. "Gender, Work and Migration: Deskilling Chinese Immigrant Women in Canada." Pp. 135-48 in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 27: Elsevier.
Meng, Ronald and Jim Sentance. 1984. "Religion and the Determination of Earnings: Further Results." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 17(3):481-88.
Model, Suzanne and Lang Lin. 2002. "The Cost of Not Being Christian: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Britain and Canada. I36:1061–1092." *International Migration Review* 36(4):1061-92.
Modood, Tariq. 2005. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Moghadam, Valentine M. 2003. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
Pendakur, Krishna. 2005. *Visible Minorities in Canada's Workplaces: A Perspective on the 2017 Projection*: Metropolis British Columbia.
Perry, Barbara. 2014. "Gendered Islamophobia: Hate Crime against Muslim Women." *Social Identities* 20(1):74-89.
Read, Jen'nan Ghazal. 2003. "The Sources of Gender Role Attitudes among Christian and Muslim Arab-American Women." *Sociology of Religion* 64(2):207-22.
Read, Jen'nan Ghazal. 2004. "Cultural Influences on Immigrant Women's Labor Force Participation: The Arab-American Case1." *International Migration Review* 38(1):52-77.
Reitz, Jeffrey G. 2001. "Immigrant Skill Utilization in the Canadian Labour Market: Implications of Human Capital Research." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2(3):347-78.

Reitz, Jeffrey G and Rupa Banerjee. 2007. "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada." Vol.: Institute for Research on Public Policy Canada.

Reitz, Jeffrey G, Rupa Banerjee, Mai Phan and Jordan Thompson. 2009. "Race, Religion, and the Social Integration of New Immigrant Minorities in Canada." *International Migration Review* 43(4):695-726.

Reitz, Jeffrey G, Patrick Simon and Emily Laxer. 2017. "Muslims' Social Inclusion and Exclusion in France, Québec, and Canada: Does National Context Matter?". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*:1-26.

Reitz, Jeffrey G. 2007. "Immigrant Employment Success in Canada, Part I: Individual and Contextual Causes." *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale* 8(1):11-36. doi: 10.1007/s12134-007-0001-4.

Shirazi, Faegheh. 2001. *The Veil Unveiled: The Hijab in Modern Culture*: University Press of Florida Gainesville.

Soroka, Stuart N, Richard Johnston and Keith G Banting. 2007. "Ties That Bind?: Social Cohesion and Diversity in Canada." in *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, edited by L. S. T.C.K. Banting. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Spierings, Niels. 2014. "How Islam Influences Women's Paid Non-Farm Employment: Evidence from 26 Indonesian and 37 Nigerian Provinces." *Review of Religious Research* 56(3):399-431.

Spierings, Niels. 2016. *Women's Employment in Muslim Countries: Patterns of Diversity*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Talbani, A. 1996. "Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education." *Comparative Educational Review* 40(1):66-82.

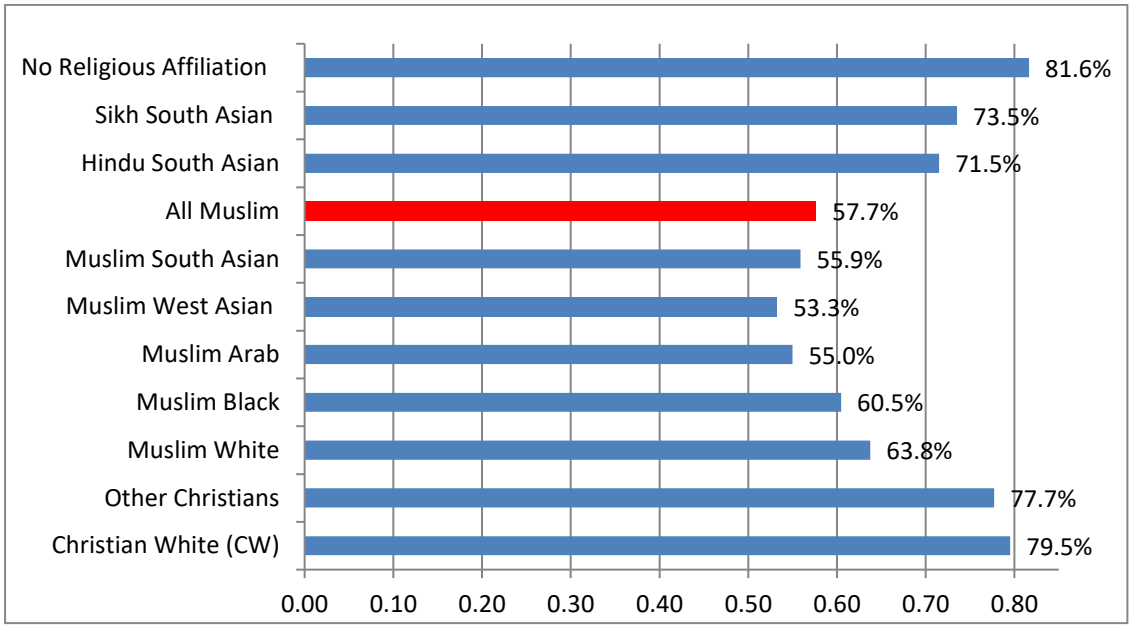
Taraki, Lisa. 1995. "Islam Is the Solution: Jordanian Islamists and the Dilemma of the "Modern Woman"." *The British Journal of Sociology* 46(4):643-61.

Tomes, Nigel. 1983. "Religion and the Rate of Return on Human Capital: Evidence from Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 16(1):122-38.

Yonay, Yuval and Vered Kraus. 2018. *Facing Barriers: Palestinian Women in a Jewish-Dominated Labor Market*: Cambridge University Press.

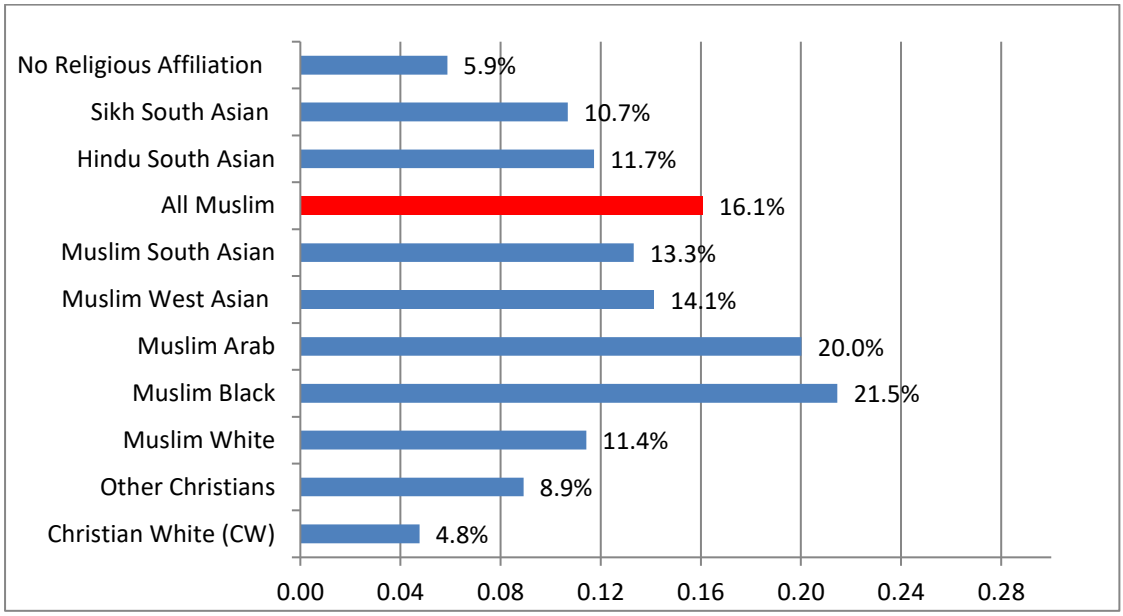
Figures and tables

Figure 1: Participation Rate, by Ethno-Religious Background, 2011



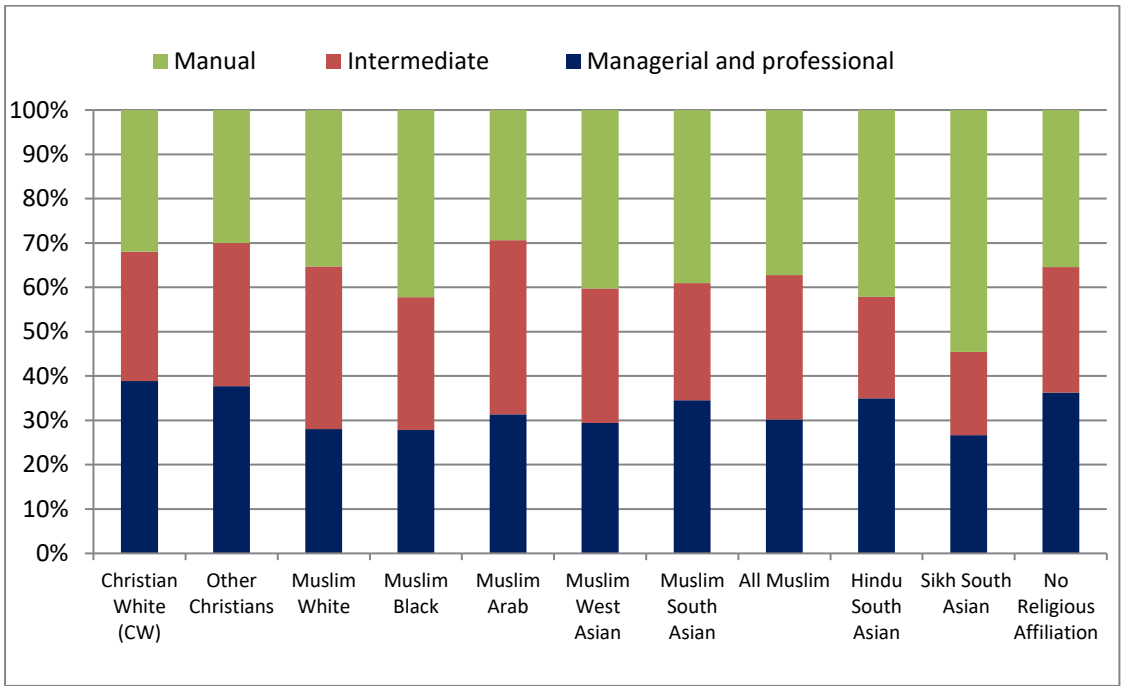
Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Figure 2: Unemployment Rate, by Ethno-Religious Background, 2011



Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Figure 3: Occupational Attainment, by Ethno-Religious Background, 2011



Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Table 1: Coefficients of Logistic Regression (logits) for Labor Force Participation

	Mode 1	Model 2
Ethno-religious background (base=White Christians)		
Other Christians	-0.11***	-0.04
Muslim White	-0.79***	-0.85***
Muslim Black	-0.93***	-0.73***
Muslim Arab	-1.16***	-1.25***
Muslim West Asian	-1.23***	-1.23***
Muslim South Asian	-1.12***	-1.19***
Hindu South Asian	-0.44***	-0.40***
Sikh South Asian	-0.34***	0.07
No Religious Affiliation	0.14***	-0.01
Age (base=18-29)		
30-39 years		-0.00
40-49 years		-0.28***
50-59 years		-0.82***
60-64 years		-1.97***
Marital status (base=single)		
Married		0.13***
Divorced/separated		0.23***
Number of Children		
At least 1 child aged 0-1		-0.86***
At least 1 child aged 2-5		-0.69***
At least 1 child aged 6-14		-0.24***
At least 1 child aged15-24		0.24***
At least 1 child aged 25 and over		-0.09***
Generation status (base=1st generation)		
2nd generation, both parents born outside Canada		0.28***
2nd generation, one parent born outside Canada		0.23***
3rd generation +, both parents born in Canada		0.24***
Educational qualification (base=no qualification)		
Diploma or degree below college level		0.87***
Diploma or degree below bachelor level		1.43***
Bachelor's degree, certificate or diploma above bachelor , or degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary or optometry		1.70***
Master's or earned doctorate degree		1.90***
Official languages (base=both French and English)		
English only		-0.21***
French only		-0.19***
Neither English nor French		-1.02***
Region of residence (base-the rest of the country)		
Toronto		0.05**
Montreal		0.06***
Vancouver		0.00

Constant	1.36***	0.87***
Pseudo R2	0.0095	0.1259
N	192,652	191,926

Note: *The symbols *, **, *** represent statistical significance at the 10th, 5th, and 1 percent level.*

Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Table 2: Coefficients of Logistic Regression (logits) of Unemployment

	Mode 1	Model 2
Ethno-religious background (base=White Christians)		
Other Christians	0.67***	0.45***
Muslim White	0.95***	0.73***
Muslim Black	1.70***	1.27***
Muslim Arab	1.61***	1.47***
Muslim West Asian	1.19***	1.04***
Muslim South Asian	1.12***	0.98***
Hindu South Asian	0.98***	0.81***
Sikh South Asian	0.87***	0.56***
No Religious Affiliation	0.22***	0.12***
Age (base=18-29)		
30-39 years		-0.20***
40-49 years		-0.25***
50-59 years		-0.30***
60-64 years		-0.26***
Marital status (base-single)		
Married		-0.47***
Divorced/separated		-0.18***
Number of Children		
At least 1 child aged 0-1		0.74***
At least 1 child aged 2-5		0.21***
At least 1 child aged 6-14		0.02
At least 1 child aged15-24		-0.16***
At least 1 child aged 25 and over		0.01
Generation status		
2nd generation, both parents born outside Canada		-0.33***
2nd generation, one parent born outside Canada		-0.31***
3rd generation or more, both parents born in Canada		-0.24***
Educational qualification		
Diploma or degree below college level		-0.50***
Diploma or degree below bachelor level		-0.95***
Bachelor's degree, certificate or diploma above bachelor , or degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary or optometry		-1.27***
Master's or earned doctorate degree		-1.05***
Official languages		
English only		0.21***
French only		0.10**
Neither English nor French		0.69***
Region residence		
Toronto		0.08**
Montreal		0.06
Vancouver		-0.18***
Constant	-3.00***	-1.69***
R-squared	0.0144	0.0476

N	152,076	151,457

Note: *The symbols *, **, *** represent statistical significance at the 10th, 5th, and 1 percent level.*

Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Table 3: Coefficients of Multinomial Logistic Regression (logits) of Occupational Attainment Contrasting Intermediary Occupations with Managerial and Manual occupations.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Managerial	Intermediary	Managerial	Intermediary
Ethno-religious background (base=White Christians)				
Other Christians	0.03	0.16***	0.11***	0.30***
Muslim White	-0.43***	0.13	-0.32**	0.15
Muslim Black	-0.61***	-0.25	-0.26	0.12
Muslim Arab	-0.13	0.38***	-0.06	0.07
Muslim West Asian	-0.51***	-0.19*	-0.48***	-0.29**
Muslim South Asian	-0.32***	-0.30***	-0.32***	-0.44***
Hindu South Asian	-0.38***	-0.52***	-0.39***	-0.65***
Sikh South Asian	-0.91***	-0.98***	-0.69***	-0.81***
No Religious Affiliation	-0.17***	-0.13***	-0.11***	-0.12***
Age (base=18-29)				
30-39 years			0.43***	0.23***
40-49 years			0.61***	0.14***
50-59 years			0.65***	0.24***
60-64 years			0.52***	0.08**
Marital status (base-single)				
Married			0.35***	0.30***
Divorced/separated			0.22***	0.27***
Number of Children				
At least 1 child aged 0-1			0.07**	0.23***
At least 1 child aged 2-5			0.02	0.12***
At least 1 child aged 6-14			-0.05***	0.07***
At least 1 child aged15-24			-0.05***	0.03*
At least 1 child aged 25 and over			-0.02	-0.00
Generation status				
2nd generation, both parents born outside Canada			0.42***	0.38***
2nd generation, one parent born outside Canada			0.31***	0.32***
3rd generation or more, both parents born in Canada			0.27***	0.28***
Educational qualification				
Diploma or degree below college level			0.89***	0.95***
Diploma or degree below bachelor level			1.45***	2.50***
Bachelor's degree, certificate or diploma above bachelor , or degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary or optometry			1.68***	3.52***
Master's or earned doctorate degree			1.77***	4.00***
Official languages				
English only			-0.14***	-0.07***
French only			-0.32***	0.29***
Neither English nor French			-1.00***	-0.84***
Region residence				

Toronto			0.22***	-0.23***
Montreal			0.19***	-0.01
Vancouver			0.16***	-0.08**
Constant	0.20***	-0.09***	-1.83***	-2.94***
R-squared	0.0025		0.104	
N	155,112		154,623	

Note: *The symbols *, **, *** represent statistical significance at the 10th, 5th, and 1 percent level.*

Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

Appendices: Additional Figures and Tables

Figure 1A: Predicted Probabilities of Participation in Labor (or Labour = USED THROUGHOUT) Force, by Ethno-Religious Background

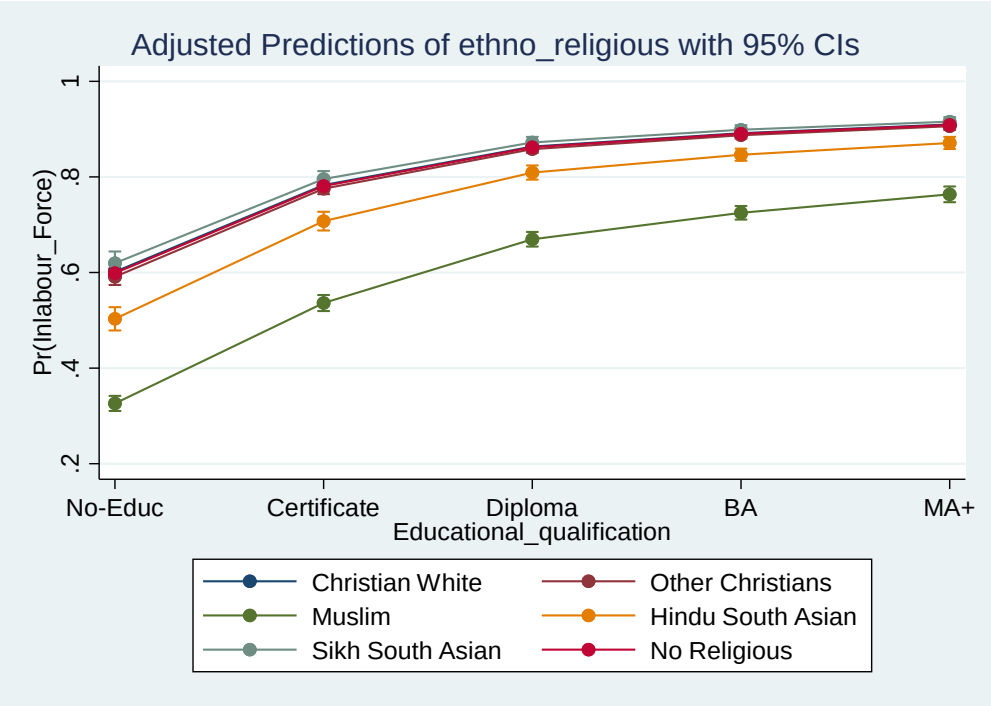


Figure 2A: Predicted Probabilities of Unemployment, by Ethno-Religious Background

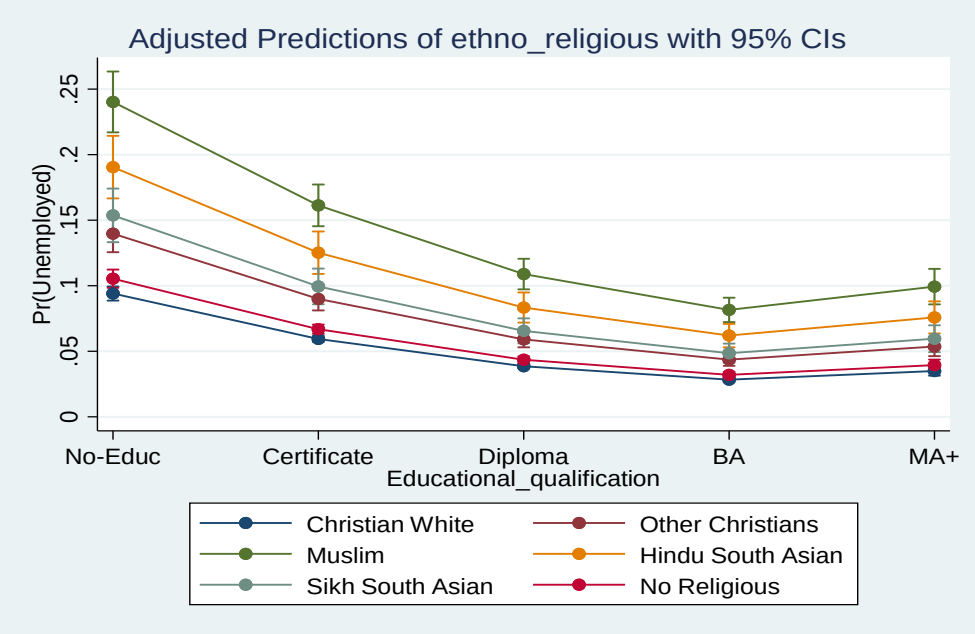
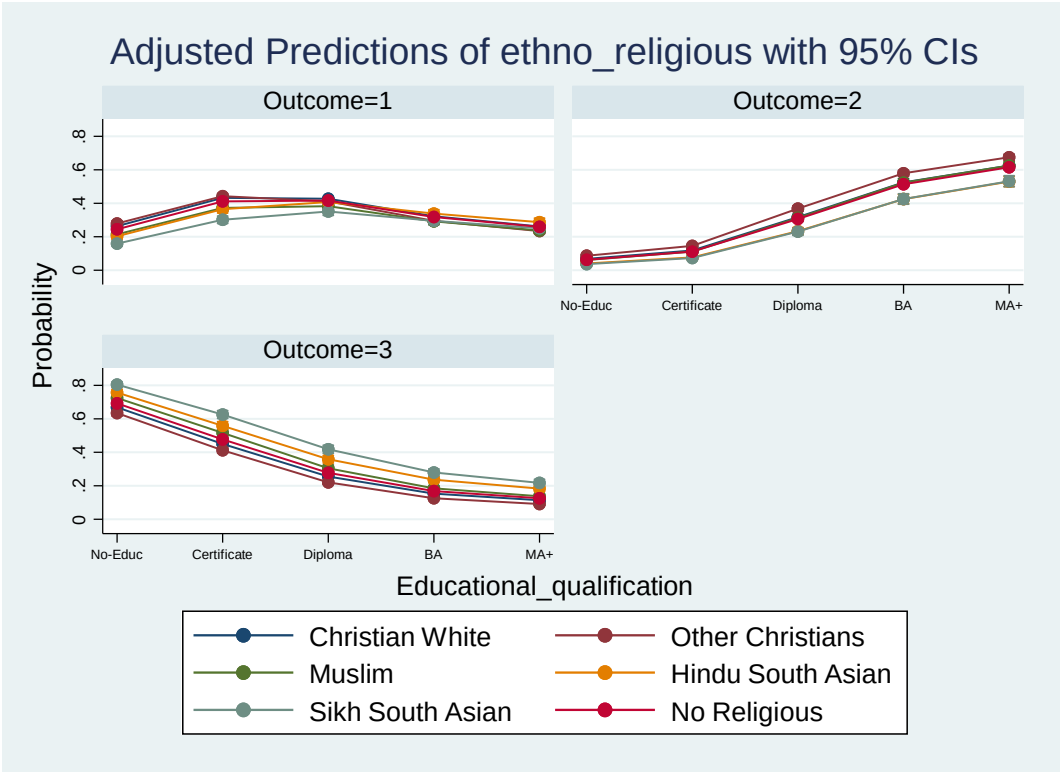


Figure 3A: Predicted Probabilities of Occupational Attainment, by Ethno-Religious Background



-

Table 1A: Logit Models for the Ethno-Religious Differences, Interaction Between Education and Ethno-Religious Groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Labor Force Participation	**Unemployment**	**Occupational Attainment**	
			Managerial	Intermediary
Ethno-religious background X Education				
Below college level X Other Christians	-0.32***	0.03	0.26*	0.20
Below college level X Muslim White	-0.58**	0.90	0.38	14.41***
Below college level X Muslim Black	-0.06	-0.13	0.21	-0.63
Below college level X Muslim Arab	-0.34	-0.03	0.13	0.11
Below college level X Muslim West Asian	-0.29	-0.27	-0.25	0.59
Below college level X Muslim South Asian	-0.22	0.46	-0.68**	-0.08
Below college level X Hindu South Asian	-0.50***	0.33	0.22	0.09
Below college level X Sikh South Asian	-0.61***	0.05	0.15	0.51
Below college level X No Religious Affiliation	-0.04	-0.08	-0.25***	-0.07
Below bachelor level X Other Christians	-0.22**	-0.01	0.50***	-0.02
Below bachelor level X Muslim White	-0.48	0.66	0.36	14.16***
Below bachelor level X Muslim Black	0.08	0.20	0.67	-1.62***
Below bachelor level X Muslim Arab	-0.04	0.16	0.19	-0.37
Below bachelor level X Muslim West Asian	0.01	-0.61	-0.08	0.48
Below bachelor level X Muslim South Asian	-0.17	0.10	-0.46	-0.18
Below bachelor level X Hindu South Asian	-0.34**	0.36	0.75***	0.31
Below bachelor level X Sikh South Asian	-0.56***	0.07	0.63***	1.17**
Below bachelor level X No Religious Affiliation	-0.06	-0.06	-0.35***	-0.07
Bachelor's degree X Other Christians	-0.50***	0.13	0.63***	-0.63***
Bachelor's degree X Muslim White	-0.60**	0.91	0.63	14.18***
Bachelor's degree X Muslim Black	-0.03	0.51	0.81	-1.71***
Bachelor's degree X Muslim Arab	-0.46**	0.56	0.41	-0.93*
Bachelor's degree X Muslim West Asian	-0.37	0.34	0.35	0.02
Bachelor's degree X Muslim South Asian	-0.68***	0.68**	-0.55*	-0.62
Bachelor's degree X Hindu South Asian	-0.76***	0.90***	0.55**	-0.20
Bachelor's degree X Sikh South Asian	-0.88***	0.23	0.24	0.43
Bachelor's degree X No Religious Affiliation	-0.09	0.07	-0.47***	-0.25**
Postgraduate X Other Christians	-0.54***	0.24	0.59***	-0.58**
Postgraduate X Muslim White	-0.71	1.62**	-0.02	14.12***
Postgraduate X Muslim Black	-0.03	0.58	1.51	-1.74
Postgraduate X Muslim Arab	-0.09	0.56	0.06	-0.97
Postgraduate X Muslim West Asian	-0.47	-0.89	0.36	0.93
Postgraduate X Muslim South Asian	-1.15***	0.97***	-0.93***	-1.15**
Postgraduate X Hindu South Asian	-0.88***	0.90***	0.44	-0.31
Postgraduate X Sikh South Asian	-1.11***	0.94***	-0.07	-0.24
Postgraduate X No Religious Affiliation	0.07	0.08	-0.57***	-0.16
Constant	0.82***	-1.66***	-1.87***	-2.98***
R-squared	0.1268	0.0486	0.1055	
N	191,926	151,457	154,623	

Note: *The symbols *, **, *** represent statistical significance at the 10th, 5th, and 1 percent level.*

Source: *Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages ofs 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.*

Appendix 1: Summary statistics for the independent variables by ethno-religious background (proportions)

	Christian White (CW)	Other Christians	Muslim White	Muslim Black	Muslim Arab	Muslim West Asian	Muslim South Asian	Hindu South Asian	Sikh South Asian	No Religious Affiliation
Sample										
N	132,788	8,551	618	478	1,380	890	2,539	3,241	3,193	38,974
Age Groups										
18–29	0.13	0.14	0.18	0.25	0.23	0.17	0.19	0.14	0.18	0.23
30–39	0.19	0.24	0.34	0.34	0.35	0.28	0.30	0.31	0.33	0.26
40–49	0.27	0.28	0.28	0.25	0.28	0.29	0.26	0.28	0.22	0.24
50-59	0.30	0.24	0.17	0.14	0.12	0.21	0.18	0.19	0.19	0.22
60-64	0.10	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.06
Marital Status										
Single	0.17	0.25	0.08	0.24	0.09	0.12	0.08	0.10	0.08	0.23
Married	0.71	0.60	0.81	0.52	0.81	0.74	0.84	0.82	0.84	0.64
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.24	0.10	0.14	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.13
Number of Children										
Number of children aged 0-1	0.06	0.07	0.11	0.14	0.19	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.09	0.08
Number of children aged 2-5	0.11	0.13	0.20	0.27	0.31	0.16	0.23	0.17	0.19	0.12
Number of children aged 6-14	0.21	0.26	0.32	0.40	0.37	0.29	0.37	0.30	0.32	0.21
Number of children aged 15-24	0.26	0.32	0.31	0.36	0.29	0.38	0.35	0.33	0.30	0.21
Number of children aged 25 and over	0.09	0.19	0.11	0.13	0.12	0.25	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.06
Generation status										
First generation, respondents born outside Canada	0.11	0.85	0.85	0.96	0.94	0.99	0.94	0.94	0.89	0.11
Second generation, both parents born outside Canada	0.07	0.12	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.06
Second generation, one parent born outside Canada	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11
Third generation or more, both parents born in Canada	0.75	0.02	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.73
Educational qualification										
No Educational Qualification	0.12	0.10	0.15	0.27	0.13	0.18	0.12	0.13	0.21	0.11
Certificate, diploma or degree below college level	0.35	0.28	0.33	0.32	0.25	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.31	0.35
Certificate, diploma or degree below bachelor level	0.30	0.30	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.20	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.28

Bachelor's degree, certificate or diploma above bachelor , or degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary or optometry	0.19	0.25	0.26	0.17	0.32	0.29	0.27	0.29	0.19	0.20
Master's or earned doctorate degree	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.08	0.07	0.13	0.12	0.07	0.06
Official languages										
English only	0.59	0.76	0.60	0.71	0.43	0.80	0.90	0.89	0.85	0.80
French only	0.18	0.07	0.16	0.11	0.26	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04
Both English and French	0.23	0.14	0.20	0.15	0.27	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.15
Neither English nor French	0.00	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.13	0.00
Region										
Toronto	0.11	0.50	0.32	0.46	0.16	0.49	0.61	0.67	0.36	0.11
Montreal	0.13	0.17	0.29	0.15	0.46	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.07
Vancouver	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.01	0.03	0.20	0.08	0.08	0.34	0.10
Rest of the Country	0.72	0.22	0.33	0.38	0.35	0.22	0.24	0.19	0.28	0.72

Source: Authors' calculation using the NHS (2011). Note: Sample includes working-age women between the ages of 18 and 64. Other Christians includes Christian South Asian, Christian Chinese, Christian Black, and Christian Arab. No Religious Affiliation includes White only.

[i] The term "visible minorities" is commonly used in the Canadian context to refer to racial and ethnic minorities.